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121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region
131 in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco.
[161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half
137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances,
[132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life
101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the
199 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of
[137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost
[487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a
[199] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

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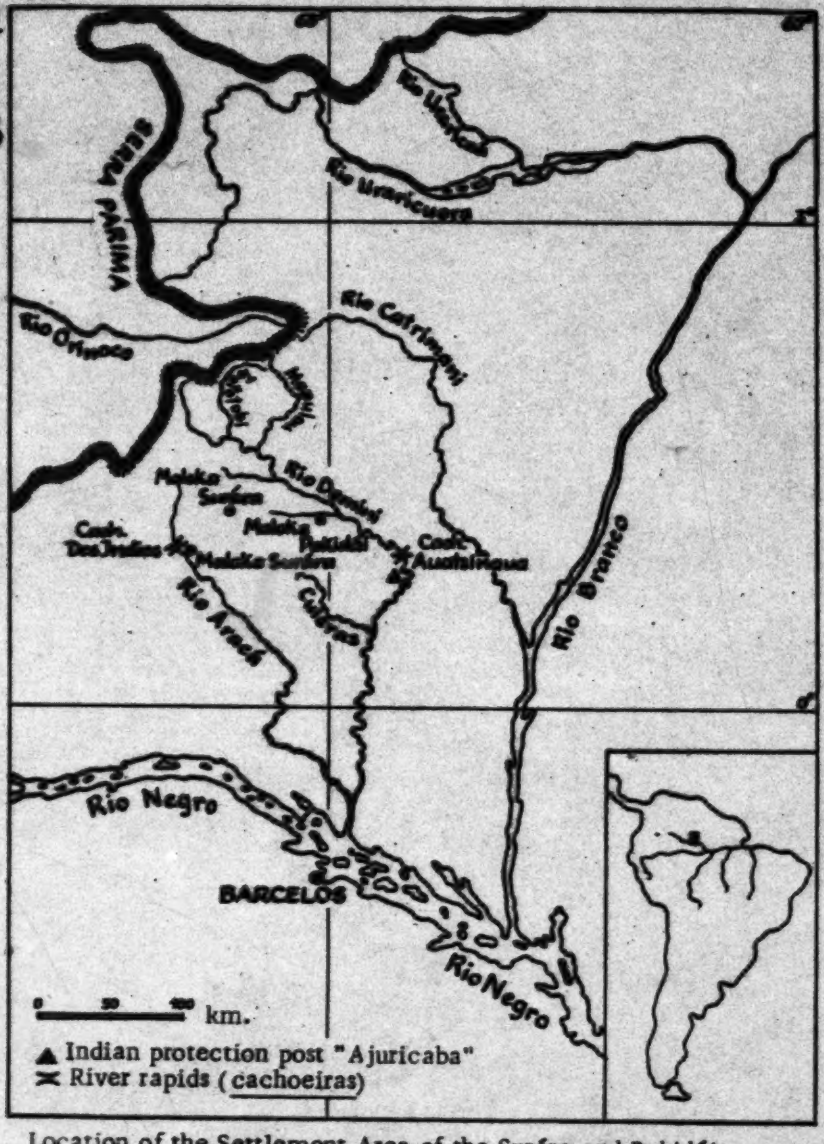

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

Surára
Pakidái

/1/

I. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is 133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its 134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and 133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even 136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piuns (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/7 cont./
114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.
114 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),
●131
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38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the
115 lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection
[131] at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

/11/ Introduction

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[133] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

133
101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

4: Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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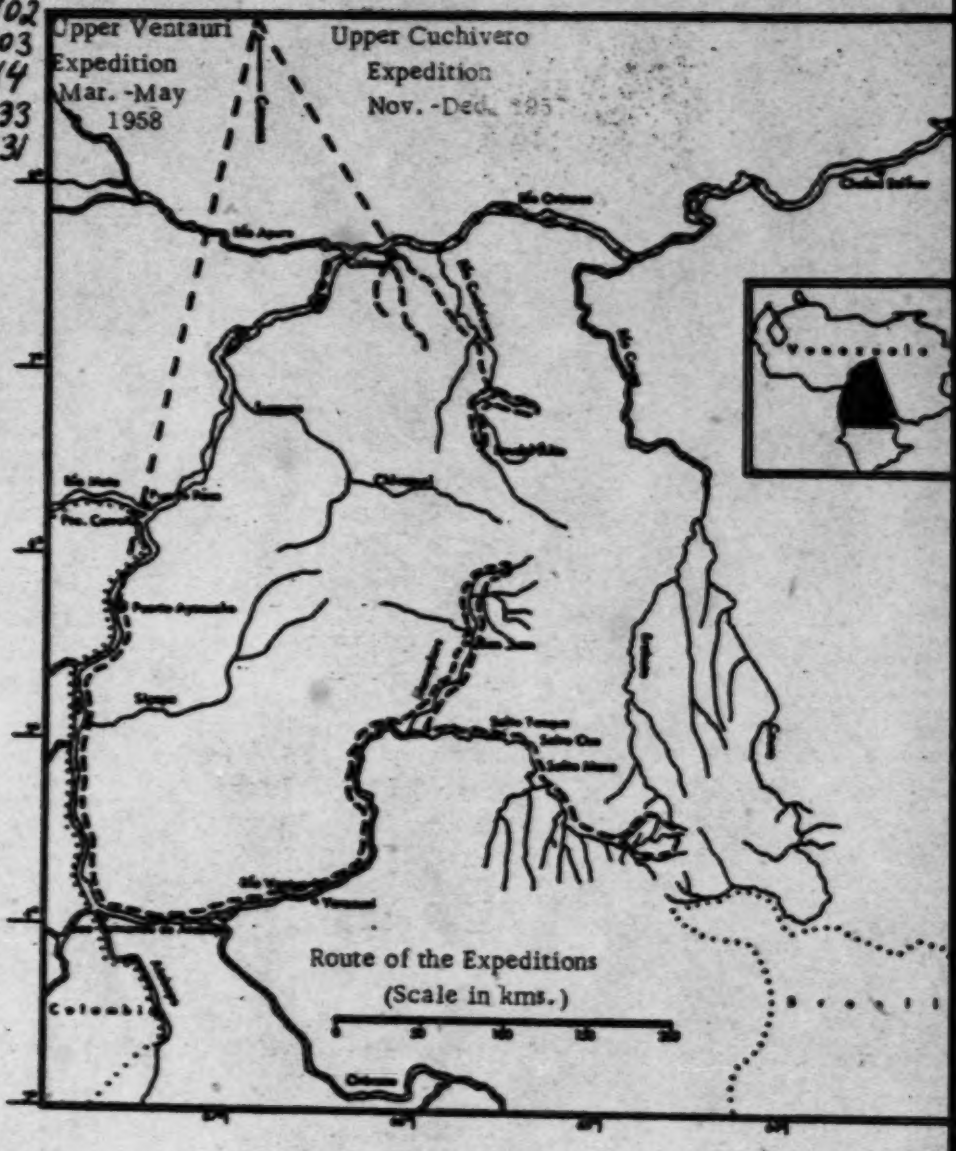

Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

4: Wilbert--21 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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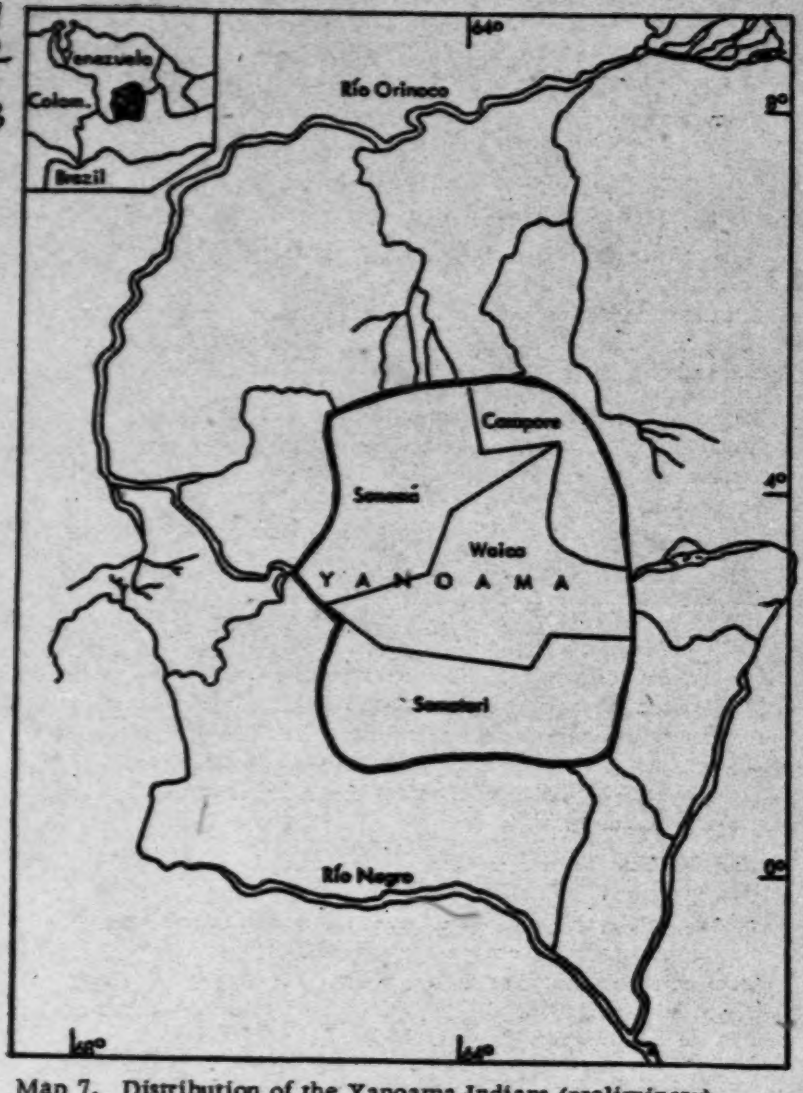

Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

Bari SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y
● 131 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on
127 the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's
128 personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

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[101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the
M Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the
131 territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the
127 Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

Y
131 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the pres-
161 ent time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B
S
U It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters
161 and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary
177 agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate name.

/182 cont./ the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricapará, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 55/6

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

4: Wilbert
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SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

4: Wilbert--40 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanama
Makiritare SS20

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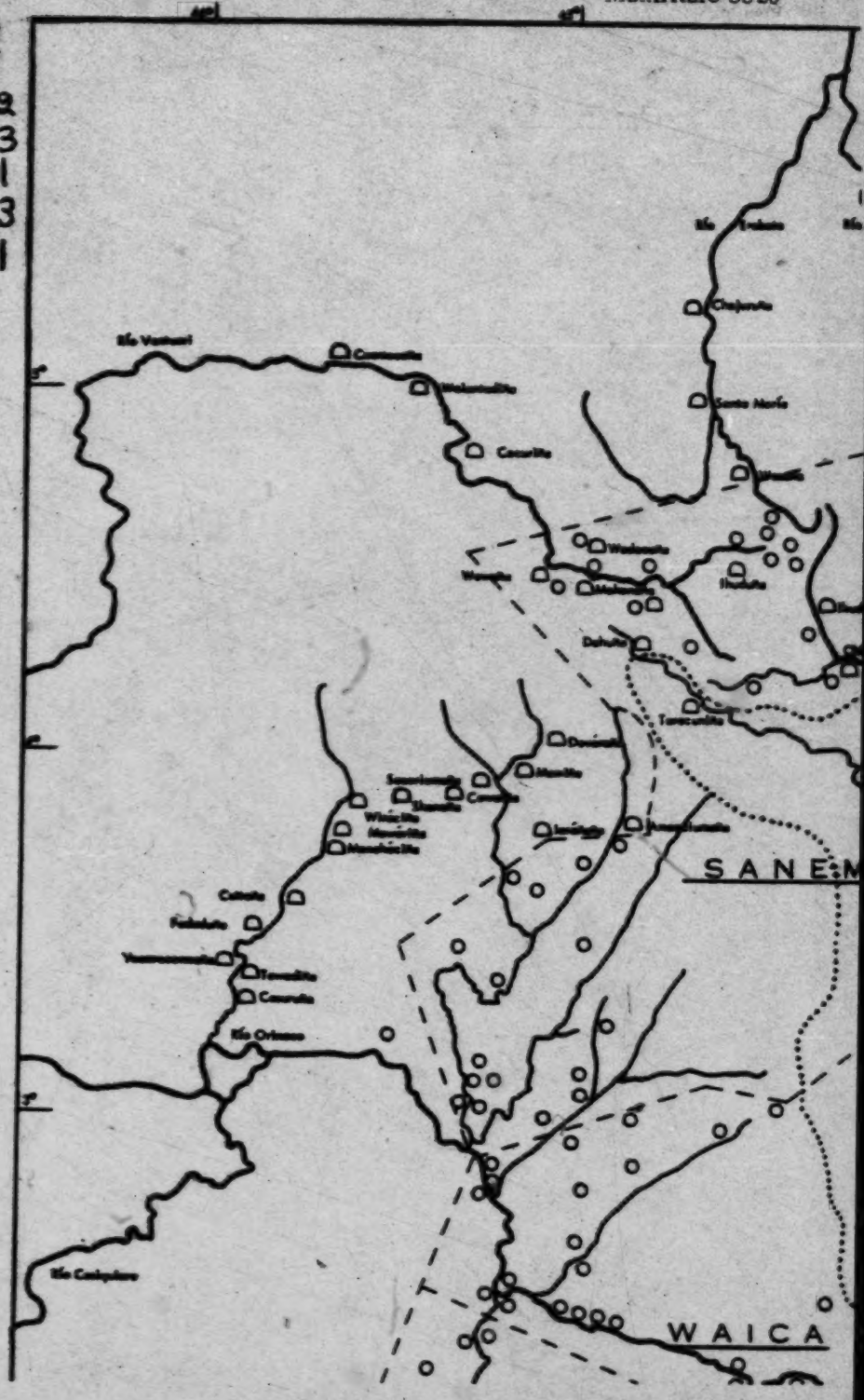

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS20 Sanema

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4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS 2 ● Sanema

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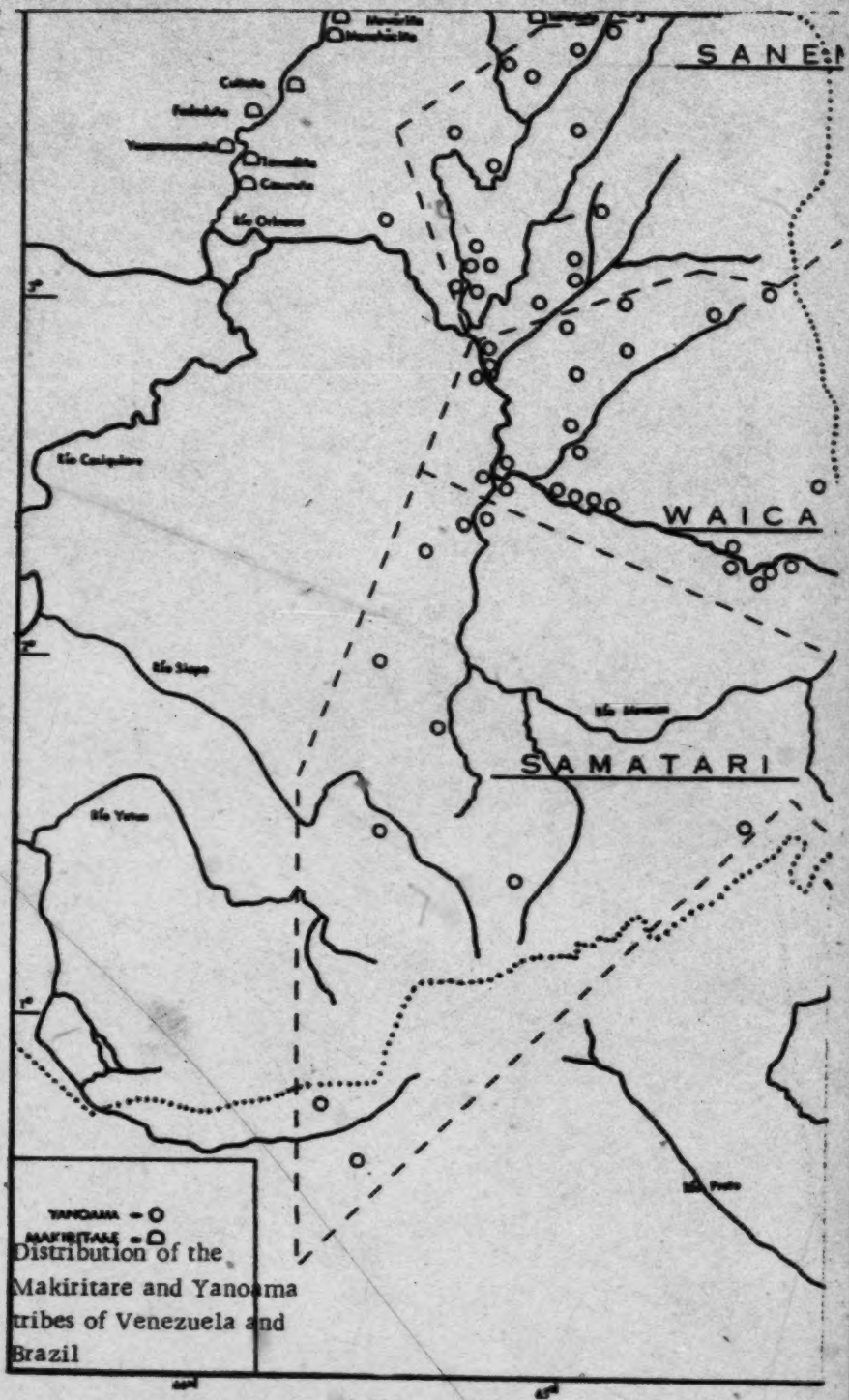

Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

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Makiritare SS 20

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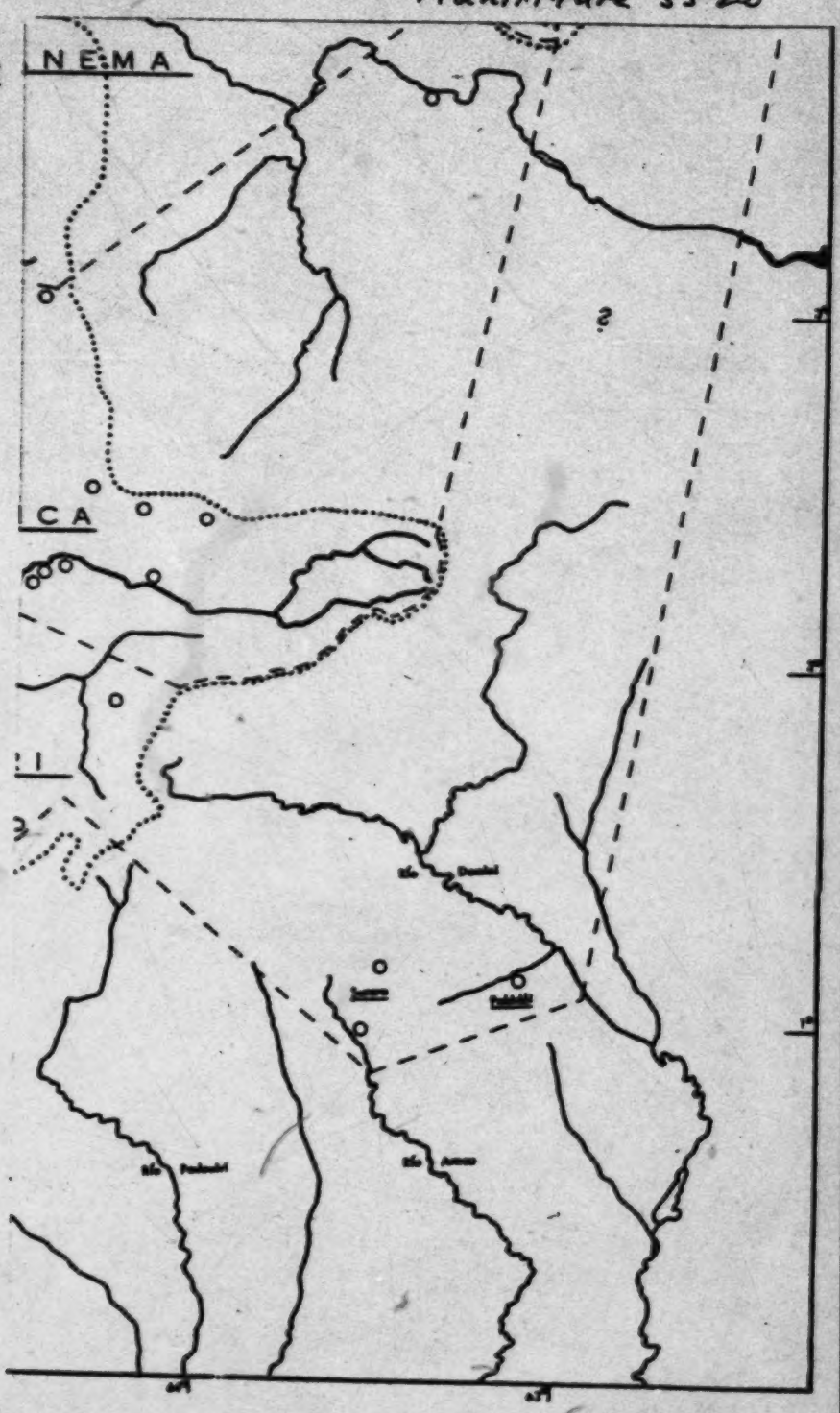

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Munson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

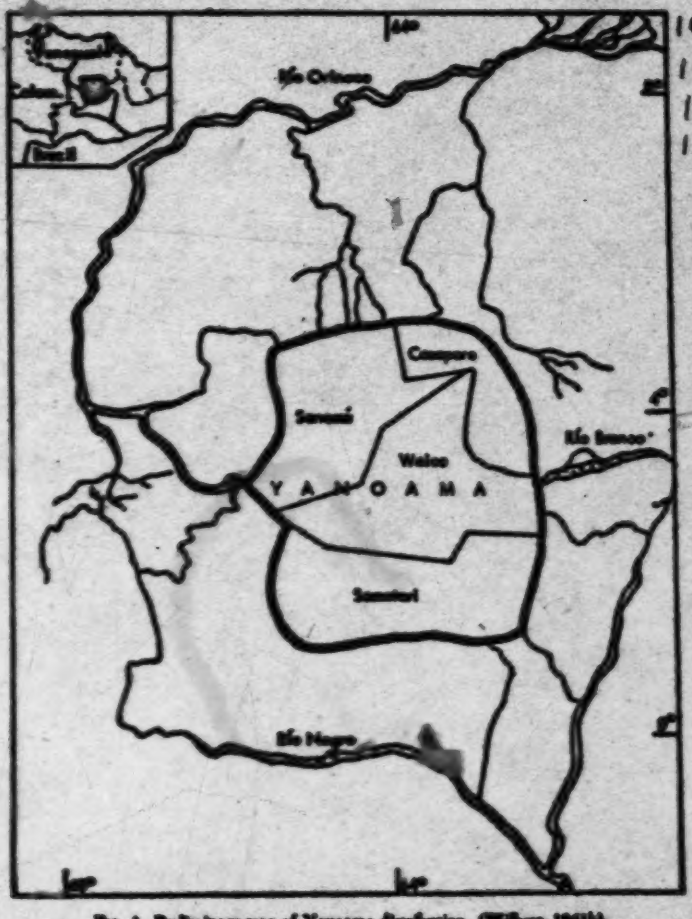

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FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanoama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canama, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanama
Uaica

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg, and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

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131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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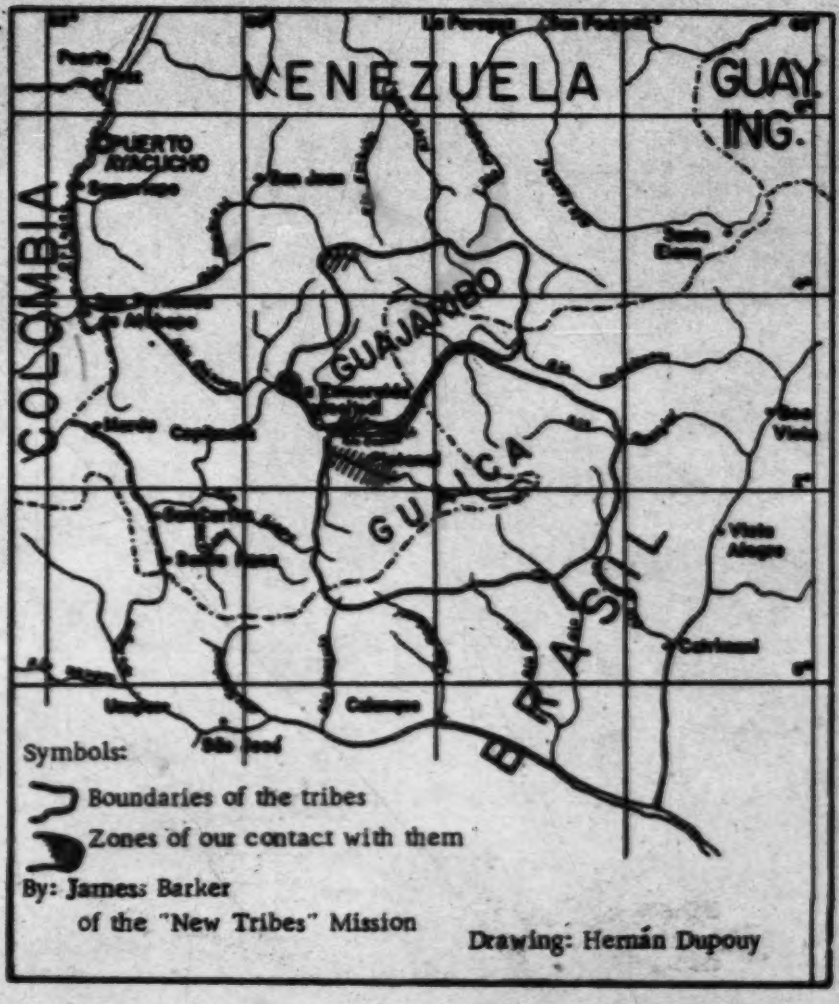

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians 554
Makiritare 5120
5

they have imposed their
mark in the names of the rivers, the word-endings -ari, -uni, -eni, meaning river or water. The ending -ari, often altered to -are, is ubiquitous west and north-west of the Orinoco as far as the foothills of the Andes—evidence of the former extent of the Arawak race. Most of the boatmen we recruited

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER ORINOCO

in the Orinoco basin and on the Amazonas slopes were Arawaks. As a result of countless voyages up and down the great rivers and as a consequence of many an invasion they are, anthropologically, a very mixed lot, even showing traces of Negro blood.

Caribs

Caribs were the late-comers to the territory. They include the Arekuna, the Yauarana, the Mapayo, the Yekuana and the Bekuana.

[i.e. The Arawaks -- Analyst]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Mallsiritare SS 20

M 648 175 [101] the Bekuana.[1] The last-named are better known by the name *Maiciritare*, an Arawak word meaning "River Folk" or "Those of the River". The date of their arrival can be placed at about a century before the Spanish conquest. They came from the north, probably from the Antilles, conquering, pillaging and well-organized. They hustled the peaceable Arawaks, who were ill-prepared to defend themselves, southwards and to some extent intermingled with them. Their southward drive stopped short at the Upper Orinoco, for it is here that the domain of the unconquered Arawaks begins, extending south and west of the Casiquiare and the upper Rio Negro. Their advance was halted by the resistance of the Guaharibos, Shirianas and Waïkas, who have ever since remained their implacable enemies. The Caribs adopted none of the manners and culture of the Arawaks, preferring to impose their own customs on their victims. They ferociously resisted the Conquistadores who were frequently compelled to procure their victuals by force and whose morals and methods in doing so did not often accord with the Christian ideal on which they prided themselves. The early Spanish chroniclers described the Caribs as "proud, brave and warlike".

M [177]

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English, Dutch and French adventurers all made use of the Caribs in their smuggling activities along the coast or up the big rivers between the Essequibo and the Orinoco, and even in their affrays against the Spanish hegemony. The Caribs are great travellers, fine sailors and boat-builders. They are invariably chosen as guides by explorers and are ever ready to boast of the services they have rendered in this capacity.

M [181]

Detached Groups

4 131 The oldest of the peoples of the area is the great family of Guaharibos, Waïkas, Shirishanas (or Shirianas), who occupy a vast part of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries the Padamo, Ocamo, Manaviche and Mavaca. They are to be found in the mountainous region, wrongly known as Sierra Parima; on

[1] [i.e. the Bekuana -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Saliva SS 15

the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River Auari, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waika Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Guaharibo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18′ 18″ N., Longitude 64° 38′ 46″ W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumɔ̈na-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumɔ̈na-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumɔ̈na-u of the Yąnomamɔ̈. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimɔ̈wi-bora in Yąnomamɔ̈) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karɔ̈bɛ̈-bora in Yąnomamɔ̈) near the present village of Kashorawɛ̈-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

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GUYANA
BRAZIL
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
MAP (A)
YANOMAMÖ AREA OF
SOUTHERN VENEZUELA
AND NORTHERN BRAZIL
SCALE IN MILES
R.A.Chagnon
1966

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

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[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

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1236
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10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1] Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 8Q10 Yanoama 8Q10

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

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[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

184 occupying five different sites, each having its own house
361 and garden. These five groups recombined into a single
*62 unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the south-
*128 west of the Ururicaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima
[122] River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated.
On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized
site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when
184 raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than
72 on the Ururicaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of
[131] Ynomamõ from those whose social organization is described in
[133] this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of
warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Cor-
[361] responding to this increase in intensity is a change in type
of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of
the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically
or not at all to the northeast.

124 There is likewise an apparent cline in population
361 density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity.
131 Ynomamõ villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and
72 more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the
161 Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction
in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However,
[177] another factor complicates the picture: the Ynomamõ have more
contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the
northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they
184 live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that
648 the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also
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[p. iv]

LOCATION OF YANOMAMÖ
IN SOUTH AMERICA

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ö] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wah," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

THE YĄNOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

Kąobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yąnomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

The general area around Kąobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

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[1] See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kąobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.